

HART-TEETER
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
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Study 4023page 20

Interviews: 1500 respondents
Date: October 25-29, 1991

47 Male
53 Female
[5]

FINAL: 10/31

Study #4023
NBC News/WSJ
October 1991

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[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]
[11]	[12]	[13]	[14]	

October 1991

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

- Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes, registered.....	100	CONTINUE	[15]
No, not registered.....	-	TERMINATE AND DO NOT COUNT	
Not sure.....	-		

- All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

		<u>9/91</u>	<u>8/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>2/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
Right direction.....	25	33	41	33	40	40	55	65	28	22	[16]
Wrong track.....	57	49	38	50	44	38	26	22	51	59	
Mixed (VOL).....	13	14	15	12	13	17	15	9	15	14	
Not sure.....	5	4	6	5	3	5	4	4	6	5	
		<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>		
		45	40	42	47	44	49	41	42		
		40	37	38	32	31	29	35	34		
		10	18	16	13	20	17	19	19		
		5	5	4	8	5	5	5	5		

- 3a. What would you say are the **two or three** most important issues or problems facing the nation today that you personally would like to see the federal government in Washington do something about? (**DO NOT READ CHOICES. ACCEPT NO MORE THAN THREE RESPONSES. BE SURE TO CLASSIFY PROPERLY. IF UNSURE, WRITE RESPONSES BELOW. IF "ECONOMY," PROBE FOR SPECIFICS.**)

ECONOMY

Economy generally	25
Farm problems, agriculture, drought	1
Inflation, prices	3
Interest rates	1
Jobs, unemployment	24
New industry needed	1
Savings and loan industry	2
Trade, imports	3
Wages, better jobs	2

FOREIGN POLICY/DEFENSE

Central America	-	[18]
Defense spending--cut defense budget	3	>
Defense--strengthen	1	
Eastern Europe	-	
Foreign aid--reduce	4	
Foreign policy	2	
Improve Soviet relations	-	
War; keep peace; nuclear arms race..	2	

TAXES/GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Budget deficit	12	[19]
Government waste, mismanagement	7	>
Taxes--too high	8	
Taxes--unfair	4	
Welfare abuse	4	

SOCIAL PROGRAMS

AIDS	2	[20]
Child care, day care	1	>
Education, schools	19	
Elderly	4	
Health care, costs	15	
Homelessness	15	

Housing	2
Poverty/social services	6
Social Security/senior citizens	2

OTHER DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

Abortion--pro-choice	2	[21]
Abortion--pro-life	3	>
Censorship/limiting free speech	-	
Crime	10	
Drugs	14	
Environment, pollution, toxic wastes	5	
Flag burning	-	
Government corruption	4	
Gun control--against	-	
Gun control--for	1	
Morality/values	2	
Racism	3	

OTHER (SPECIFY:)

Limit terms of members of congress.	1	
Civil rights.....	1	
Other.....	3	

>

None/not sure	3	SKIP TO Q.4.
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- 3b. Of the issues you just mentioned as important, which one do you consider to be the most important? (ALLOW ONLY ONE RESPONSE. RECORD BELOW. AFTER RESPONDENT GIVES ANSWER, CHECK TO MAKE SURE IT IS ONE OF THE ANSWERS HE/SHE GAVE IN Q.3a.)

ECONOMY		TAXES/GOVERNMENT SPENDING	
Economy generally	17	[23]	Budget deficit 7 [25]
Farm problems, agriculture, drought . .	-		Government waste, mismanagement 3
Inflation, prices	1		Taxes--too high 3
Interest rates	-		Taxes--unfair 1
Jobs, unemployment	11		Welfare abuse 1
New industry needed	-		SOCIAL PROGRAMS
Savings and loan industry	1		AIDS - [26]
Trade, imports	1		Child care, day care -
Wages, better jobs	1		Education, schools 10
FOREIGN POLICY/DEFENSE			Elderly 1
Central America	-	[24]	Health care, costs 6
Defense spending--cut defense budget	1		Homelessness 4
Defense--strengthen	-		Housing -
Eastern Europe	-		Poverty/social services 2
Foreign aid--reduce	2		Social Security/senior citizens 1
Foreign policy	1		OTHER DOMESTIC PROBLEMS
Improve Soviet relations	-		Abortion--pro-choice 1 [27]
War; keep peace; nuclear arms race	1		Abortion--pro-life 1
			Censorship/limiting free speech -
			Crime 4
			Drugs 6
			Environment, pollution, toxic wastes 2
			Flag burning -
			Government corruption 2
			Gun control--against -
			Gun control--for -
			Morality/values 1
			Racism 1
			OTHER (SPECIFY:) [28]
			Limit terms of members of congress. 1
			Civil rights..... -
			Other..... 2

			No most important..... 3
			None/not sure -

(ASK EVERYONE.)

4. I'm going to read you the names of several groups and people who are active in politics. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very

negative. If you don't know the name, please say so. (READ EACH NAME AND REPEAT CHOICES.
START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu- tral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
George Bush							[29]
October 1991.....	27	35	15	12	10	1	
June 1991.....	38	33	10	11	7	-	
May 1991.....	42	35	10	8	4	1	
March 1991.....	50	30	9	6	4	1	
October 1990.....	20	36	17	15	11	1	
July 1990.....	26	42	16	10	5	1	
May 1990.....	28	40	15	11	5	1	
March 1990.....	32	37	15	10	5	1	
December 1989.....	28	33	21	11	5	2	
November 1989.....	24	38	17	11	8	2	
Mario Cuomo							[30]
October 1991.....	8	16	21	11	9	35	
March 1991.....	7	18	23	10	7	35	
October 1990.....	10	17	22	11	6	34	
Bob Kerrey							[31]
October 1991.....	1	8	14	5	3	69	
Jerry Brown							[32]
October 1991.....	3	14	21	15	13	34	
Doug Wilder							[33]
October 1991.....	2	9	13	6	4	66	
Bill Clinton							[34]
October 1991.....	3	7	14	5	2	69	
The Democratic Party							[35]
October 1991.....	12	25	24	21	13	5	
October 1990.....	12	27	30	19	8	4	
The Republican Party							[36]
October 1991.....	12	32	21	17	14	4	
October 1990.....	11	27	24	20	14	4	
Paul Tsongas ("SONG-gus")							[37]
October 1991.....	1	7	13	6	3	70	
Tom Harkin							[38]
October 1991.....	2	7	13	4	3	71	
Jesse Jackson							[39]
October 1991.....	9	22	22	21	22	4	
October 1990.....	12	25	24	17	18	4	
March 1990.....	15	28	24	14	15	4	
November 1989.....	15	30	23	16	13	3	

Q.4. (cont'd)	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu- tral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Dan Quayle							[40]
October 1991.....	10	25	28	15	18	4	
June 1991.....	9	24	30	18	15	3	
May 1991.....	9	25	27	17	18	4	
March 1991.....	7	26	29	15	18	5	
October 1990.....	5	22	28	19	19	7	
July 1990.....	6	22	33	16	14	9	
May 1990.....	7	22	29	18	19	5	

March 1990.....	7	Study 14023 page 20	17	19	8
November 1989.....	7	22	26	21	7

5a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

		<u>9/91</u>	<u>8/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>2/91</u>	<u>1/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/30-31/90</u>	
Approve.....	63	64	70	67	76	74	81	85	77	57	56	[41]
Disapprove.....	30	27	21	25	21	19	13	11	15	36	32	
Not sure.....	7	9	9	8	3	7	6	4	8	7	12	
			<u>10/19-21/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
			59	75	67	72	75	69	71	67	67	
			32	15	22	21	15	19	19	22	17	
			9	10	11	7	10	12	10	11	16	

5b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the economy?

		<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
Approve.....	31	41	38	47	44	44	37	35	52	48	51	59	53	54	52	61	[42]
Disapprove.....	61	51	52	48	44	45	54	55	36	41	40	30	35	31	33	24	
Not sure.....	8	8	10	5	12	11	9	10	12	11	9	11	12	15	15	15	

5c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

		<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
Approve.....	70	71	74	74	76	83	56	63	75	67	67	70	67	69	59	58	[43]
Disapprove.....	23	23	21	21	18	11	37	30	17	22	25	22	22	21	27	26	
Not sure.....	7	6	5	5	6	6	7	7	8	11	8	8	11	10	14	16	

6a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

		<u>10/15/91</u>	July <u>1991</u>	October <u>1990</u>	
Approve.....	26	34	28	22	[44]
Disapprove.....	62	52	63	69	
Not sure.....	12	14	9	9	

- 6b. And how would you rate the congressman or woman from your district--do you approve or disapprove of the job your representative is doing?

		<u>7/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	
Approve.....	61	56	57	68	[45]
Disapprove.....	25	29	30	16	
Not sure.....	14	12	13	16	

- 6c. How would you like things to change in the U.S. Congress? What would you like to be different about Congress?

(PROBE:) Anything else?

Limit terms	17%	
Work for, care about the people	12	
Work, do your job, don't waste time, accomplish things faster	9	
They feel they are immune from the law; they take advantage of their position; they should be more accountable for their actions; should abide by the rules they make	7	
New people, new faces, fresh ideas; get rid of them	7	
Salaries too high, too many pay raises	7	[46-49]
More honesty, more trustworthy people	7	
Don't know, no response	21	

7. Would you say that you and your family are better off or worse off than you were three years ago?

Better off.....	40	[50]
Worse off.....	37	
About the same (VOL)..	22	
Not sure.....	1	

- 8a. Over the past year, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

		<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>4/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>2/91</u>	<u>1/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>11/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>8/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>6/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>2/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>10/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
Better.....	6	8	9	11	8	3	3	6	11	11	12	13	12	15	18										[51]
Worse.....	67	57	64	54	64	73	72	57	37	36	30	37	29	34	23										
Stayed about the same ..	26	33	26	35	27	23	24	35	51	52	56	48	57	49	57										
Not sure.....	1	2	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2										

- 8b. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

		<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>1/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
Better.....	26	32	34	37	37	46	25	21	13	16	20	22	24	21	22	21	25	[52]
Worse.....	32	24	24	23	22	20	40	45	52	49	33	32	29	30	28	33	23	
Stay about the same.	37	39	37	37	38	27	28	30	30	26	40	41	42	44	44	39	43	
Not sure.....	5	5	5	3	3	7	7	4	5	9	7	5	5	5	6	7	9	

9. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important issue facing the country? (READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)

		<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
Inflation.....	10	10	9	9	9	10	11	13	13	8	9	13	12	12	[53]
Unemployment.....	39	37	35	30	32	31	26	16	22	21	22	20	23	23	
Interest rates.....	3	3	3	4	2	3	3	2	3	4	5	5	4	4	
The federal budget deficit.....	24	23	27	34	29	32	35	43	34	37	35	30	29	32	
Federal taxes.....	7	6	7	7	6	6	7	10	5	9	9	7	7	8	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	8	8	10	11	11	10	11	9	14	14	14	17	18	15	
All equally important (VOL).	8	10	6	3	10	6	6	6	6	6	4	6	5	4	
None is important (VOL).....	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	
Not sure.....	1	3	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	

10. Generally speaking, would you say your own family's financial situation is in good shape, only fair shape, or poor shape?

		<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>1/90</u>	
Good shape.....	32	35	36	37	40	43	37	[54]
Only fair shape.	53	49	50	50	47	45	51	
Poor shape.....	15	15	13	13	12	12	12	
Not sure.....	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	

11. Do you plan to spend more money on Christmas shopping this year than you did last year, less money, or about the same amount?

		<u>12/90</u>	NBC <u>11/30- 12/1/87*</u>	NBC <u>10/87*</u>	
More.....	6	10	16	11	[55]
Less.....	47	46	28	30	
About the same amount.....	46	44	55	58	
Not sure.....	1	-	1	1	

* These percentages are among all adults, rather than registered voters.

12. Do you think Congress should or should not pass a tax cut as a way to help stimulate the U.S. economy?

Should pass a tax cut.....	55	[56]
Should not pass a tax cut.....	32	
Not sure.....	13	

13. As you may know, in 1990 President Bush and Congress agreed to a 5-year plan to reduce the federal budget deficit. Please tell me which one of the following statements about this agreement comes closer to your point of view. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE.)**

STATEMENT A: The assumptions on which the budget agreement were based have changed so much in the last year that this agreement now needs to be changed.

OR

STATEMENT B: President Bush and Congress have an agreement that they should follow because a revised budget plan may be worse.

Statement A.....	49	[57]
Statement B.....	38	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	10	

14. If Congress decides to reduce defense spending because of the the recent changes in the Soviet Union, which one of the following do you think would be the best use of the savings that would result? **(READ CHOICES. ROTATE.)**

A) Reduce taxes.....	14	[58]
B) Increase spending on health and education.....	45	
C) Reduce the federal budget deficit.....	35	
Some of each (VOL).....	3	
Other/none of these (VOL).....	1	
Should not reduce defense spending (VOL)....	1	
Not sure.....	1	

(FORM B ONLY)

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15. Suppose the federal government decides to cut taxes. For each of the following, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose this tax cut. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. ROTATE.)**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Reducing the capital gains tax rate on profits from the sale of stocks, bonds, and real estate.....	44	44	12	[59]
Increasing the personal exemption for children 18 years old and younger.....	71	23	6	[60]
Providing a tax credit for first-time home buyers.....	81	16	3	[61]
Increasing the number of people who qualify for the Individual Retirement Account (IRA) tax deduction.....	71	18	11	[62]

Now, I'd like to ask you about foreign affairs and foreign policy.

(BOTH FORMS)

- 16a. In general, who do you think is currently the biggest obstacle to finding a peace settlement in the Arab-Israeli dispute--**(READ CHOICES)? (ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

		<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	
The Arab nations.....	35	33	35	[63]
Israel.....	37	34	37	
Both equally (VOL).....	14	16	11	
Neither (VOL).....	1	1	2	
Not sure.....	13	16	15	

- 16b. As you may know, Israel and the Arab nations are meeting this week at a peace conference. How likely do you think it is that this conference will lead to a lasting peace between Israel and the Arab nations--very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?

Very likely.....	3	[64]
Somewhat likely.....	20	
Not very likely.....	44	
Not at all likely.....	31	
Not sure.....	2	

Now, let me ask you a few questions about public affairs, politics, and elections.

- 17a. Do you think America is in a state of decline, or do you feel that this is not the case?

		<u>10/90*</u>	
State of decline.....	53	31	[65]
Not in state of decline.....	42	63	
Not sure.....	5	6	

* The question read, "Do you think American is in a permanent state of decline?"

- 17b. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The economic and political systems in this country are stacked against people like me."

		<u>10/90</u>	<u>10/23-26/88*</u>	<u>10/14- 16/88*</u>	<u>9/88*</u>	<u>8/88</u>	
Agree.....	48	42	43	50	43	51	[66]
Disagree.....	46	54	48	42	46	39	
Not sure.....	6	4	9	8	11	10	

* The question read, "Do you think the political and economic systems in this country are stacked against people like you, or don't you think so?"

- 17c. Do you think that quite a few of the people running for Congress are a little crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked at all?

		<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1974*</u>	<u>1972*</u>	<u>1968*</u>	<u>1964*</u>	
Quite a few are crooked...	63	49	40	32	47	49	34	25	28	[67]
Not very many are crooked.....	27	40	45	50	41	38	46	49	49	
Hardly any are crooked....	7	9	11	14	8	10	16	18	18	
Not sure.....	3	2	4	4	4	3	4	8	5	

* Center for Political Studies.

18. How would you rate the overall performance and accomplishments of this year's Congress--one of the best, above average, average, below average, or one of the worst?

		<u>10/90</u>	
One of the best.....	1	1	[68]
Above average.....	5	7	
Average.....	45	39	
Below average.....	32	32	
One of the worst.....	14	19	
Not sure.....	3	2	

19. In general, do you think it is better for the same political party to control both the Congress and the presidency, so they can work together more closely, or do you think it is better to have different political parties controlling the Congress and the presidency, to prevent either one from going too far?

		<u>10/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/86</u>	
Better if controlled by <u>same</u> political party.....	24	23	24	28	[69]
Better if controlled by <u>different</u> political parties.	67	67	63	64	
Not sure.....	9	10	13	8	

20. Let me read you four possible outcomes to this year's congressional elections. Please tell me which one you would most like to see happen. **(READ CHOICES.)**

		<u>10/90</u>	
More Democrats and fewer Republicans in Congress....	17	20	[70]
More Republicans and fewer Democrats in Congress....	20	18	
The number of Democrats and Republicans in Congress staying about the same, and a lot of incumbents winning.....	19	22	
The number of Democrats and Republicans in Congress staying about the same, but with a lot of incumbents losing.....	36	32	
Not sure.....	8	8	

- 21a. Looking ahead to the 1992 election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

		<u>7/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
Vote for the Republican candidate.....	31	29	31	32	33	34	25	26	27	29	[71]
Vote for the Democratic candidate.....	34	33	40	37	36	33	34	31	32	32	
Depends (VOL).....	20	24	12	14	17	22	29	33	28	24	
Neither (VOL).....	1	1	3	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	
Not sure.....	14	13	14	16	12	10	10	8	12	14	

21b. Do you think it is important to elect members of Congress who will support President Bush, or is it not important to do so?

		<u>10/90</u>	<u>10/86</u>	
Important.....	45	42	54	[72]
Not important.....	47	50	41	
Not sure.....	8	8	5	

22. Looking ahead to the 1992 election for U.S. Congress, do you feel your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

		<u>10/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	
Reelect representative.....	40	39	41	[73]
Give new person a chance.....	48	48	36	
Not sure.....	12	13	23	

(FORM A ONLY)

23. Now, I'm going to mention several things you might learn about a candidate for Congress in your district. For each one, please tell me if this would make you more likely or less likely to vote for this candidate.

If a candidate **(READ ITEM)**, would this make you more likely or less likely to support this candidate?
(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)

(IF "MORE LIKELY," ASK:) Would this make you much more likely or somewhat more likely to support this candidate?

(IF "LESS LIKELY," ASK:) Would this make you much less likely or somewhat less likely to support this candidate?

	Much More Likely To Support <u>Candidate</u>	Some- what More Likely To Support <u>Candidate</u>	Some- what Less Likely To Support <u>Candidate</u>	Much Less Likely To Support <u>Candidate</u>	Not Make Much Differ- ence (VOL)	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Voted against the use of force in the Persian Gulf.....	13	16	26	32	10	3	[74]
Opposed the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court	17	14	23	24	15	7	[75]
Favors a woman's right to an abortion.....	35	20	10	24	7	4	[76]
Is an incumbent in Congress....	12	18	21	15	19	15	[77]
Bounced checks at the bank of the House of Representatives...	2	3	23	64	5	3	[78]
Opposes a woman's right to an abortion.....	15	11	20	45	4	5	[79]
Voted in favor of the Congressional pay raise.....	4	5	25	58	6	2	[80]
Supports a new national health care program.....	54	27	6	6	2	5	[81]
Favors major reductions in the U.S. defense budget.....	29	26	19	17	4	5	[82]

(BOTH FORMS)

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24. In general, do you feel that your own representative is contributing to the problems in Washington or is working to solve these problems?

		<u>10/90</u>	
Contributing to problems.....	21	26	[83]
Working to solve problems.....	56	57	
Some of both (VOL).....	6	6	
Neither (VOL).....	2	2	
Not sure.....	15	9	

25. Do you happen to know the annual salary of representatives in Congress--is their annual salary less than \$50,000; between \$50,000 and \$100,000; between \$100,000 and \$150,000; or more than \$150,000?

Less than \$50,000.....	1	[84]
Between \$50,000 and \$100,000.....	34	
Between \$100,000 and \$150,000.....	37	
More than \$150,000.....	6	
Not sure.....	22	

26. Do you think there should or should not be a limit on the number of terms to which a senator or member of Congress can be elected?

		<u>10/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	
Yes, there should be a limit.....	75	72	67	[85]
No, there should not be a limit.....	21	24	28	
Not sure.....	4	4	5	

27. Let me read you a number of areas that the president of the United States deals with as part of his job. Which one of the following do you think should be the president's most important priority? **(READ CHOICES. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

		<u>7/91</u>	
Dealing with the U.S. economy.....	35	37	[86]
Dealing with national security and U.S. foreign policy	12	13	
Dealing with domestic issues such as education, health care, and the environment.....	41	43	
Other (VOL).....	1	-	
All of these equally (VOL).....	10	6	
None of these (VOL).....	-	-	
Not sure.....	1	1	

(FORM A ONLY)

28. Let me mention several things you might learn about a candidate running for president. For each one, please tell me whether this should or should not disqualify someone from becoming president of the United States.

(FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING, ASK:) If someone (READ ITEM), do you think this should or should not disqualify this person from becoming president of the United States?

	Should Disqualify <u>Someone</u>	Should Not Disqualify <u>Someone</u>	Depends (VOL)	Not Sure	
Drinks too much.....	80	15	4	1	[87]
Smoked marijuana while in college	14	80	5	1	[88]
Had an extra-marital affair.....	35	55	7	3	[89]
Watches X-rated movies.....	25	66	5	4	[90]
Is gay or lesbian.....	47	47	3	3	[91]
Has sexually harassed an employee.....	65	22	9	4	[92]
Has tax problems with the I.R.S.....	63	28	7	2	[93]

(BOTH FORMS)

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29. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	15	CONTINUE	[94]
Not strong Democrat.....	12		
Independent/lean Democrat.....	11		
Strictly Independent.....	14		
Independent/lean Republican.....	16	SKIP TO	
		Q.31.	
Not strong Republican.....	13		
Strong Republican.....	13		
Other.....	3		
Refused.....	1		
Don't know/nothing.....	2		

(ASKED ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY THINK OF THEMSELVES AS DEMOCRATS, INDEPENDENTS, OR INDEPENDENTS WHO LEAN TOWARD THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN Q.29).

30a. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the 1992 Democratic nomination for president. If the Democratic primary for president were being held today, which candidate would you favor? **(READ LIST.)**

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

Jerry Brown.....	13	[95]
Bill Clinton.....	6	
Mario Cuomo ("QUO-moe").	31	
Tom Harkin.....	2	
Bob Kerrey.....	5	
Paul Tsongas ("SONG-gus")	3	
Doug Wilder.....	8	
Someone else (VOL).....	1	
None (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	24	

(ASKED ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY THINK OF THEMSELVES AS DEMOCRATS, INDEPENDENTS, OR INDEPENDENTS WHO LEAN TOWARD THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN Q.29).

- 30b. Let me read you another list of people who might seek the 1992 Democratic nomination for president. If the Democratic primary for president were being held today, which candidate would you favor? **(READ LIST.)**

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

		<u>9/91</u>	
Jerry Brown.....	21	11	[96]
Bill Clinton.....	9	5	
Tom Harkin.....	4	6	
Bob Kerrey.....	8	6	
Paul Tsongas ("SONG-gus")	5	5	
Doug Wilder.....	10	7	
Someone else (VOL).....	2	2	
None (VOL).....	10	17	
Not sure.....	31	41	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

31. In the general election for president in 1992, how likely are you to consider voting for the Democratic candidate--would you definitely consider voting for the Democratic candidate, probably consider voting for the Democratic candidate, probably not consider voting for the Democratic candidate, or definitely not consider voting for the Democratic candidate?

Definitely consider.....	24	[97]
Probably consider.....	37	
Probably not consider.....	17	
Definitely not consider.....	13	
Not sure.....	9	

- 32a. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Mario Cuomo ("QUO-moe"), the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Cuomo?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

		<u>7/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
George Bush.....	54	60	61	67	52	[98]
Lean Bush.....	3	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Mario Cuomo.....	31	30	27	22	35	
Lean Cuomo.....	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Neither (VOL).....	1	2	3	2	3	
Not sure.....	9	8	9	9	10	

- 32b. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Bob Kerrey, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Kerrey?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

George Bush.....	56	[99]
Lean Bush.....	3	
Bob Kerrey.....	22	
Lean Kerrey.....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	15	

(FORM A ONLY)

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32c. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Doug Wilder, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Wilder?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

George Bush.....	53	[100]
Lean Bush.....	3	
Doug Wilder.....	21	
Lean Wilder.....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	17	

(FORM A ONLY)

32d. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Paul Tsongas ("SONG-gus"), the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Tsongas?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

George Bush.....	55	[101]
Lean Bush.....	3	
Paul Tsongas.....	20	
Lean Tsongas.....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	17	

(FORM B ONLY)

32c. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Jesse Jackson, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Jackson?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

George Bush.....	67	<u>10/90</u>	
Lean Bush.....	1	60	[102]
Jesse Jackson.....	19	NA	
Lean Jackson.....	2	27	
Neither (VOL).....	2	NA	
Not sure.....	9	4	
		9	

(FORM B ONLY)

32d. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Jerry Brown, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Brown?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

George Bush.....	61	[103]
Lean Bush.....	3	
Jerry Brown.....	21	
Lean Brown.....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	11	

(BOTH FORMS)

32e. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Tom Harkin, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Harkin?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

George Bush.....	58	[104]
Lean Bush.....	3	
Tom Harkin.....	18	
Lean Harkin.....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	17	

- 32f. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Bill Clinton, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Clinton?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

George Bush.....	55	[105]
Lean Bush.....	3	
Bill Clinton.....	20	
Lean Clinton.....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	18	

33. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion about George Bush? (READ CHOICES.)

A) I like George Bush personally and approve of most of his policies.....	43	[106]
B) I like George Bush personally, but I disapprove of many of his policies.....	35	
C) I don't like George Bush personally, but I do approve of most of his policies.....	7	
D) I don't like George Bush personally and I disapprove of many of his policies.....	12	
None of these (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	2	

34. Let me read you a number of criticisms some people have made about George Bush as president. Please tell me which one or two of the following would make you most likely to consider not supporting George Bush for reelection as president. (READ LIST. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES. ROTATE.)

He has no plan for significantly reducing the federal budget deficit....	16	[107]
He does not pay enough attention to domestic problems.....	32	>
He wants to spend too much money on national defense.....	8	
He has no plan for economic growth and recovery.....	20	
He has no plan to significantly improve health care.....	20	
His policies favor the wealthy over the average person.....	33	
All equally (VOL).....	7	
None of these (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	4	

35. Let me read you a number of criticisms some people have made about Democrats who run for president. Please tell me which **one or two** of the following would make you most likely to **not** support a Democratic candidate for president. **(READ LIST. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES. ROTATE.)**

Favoring big government and costly programs.....	28	[108]
Having no proven ability to handle foreign affairs.....	14	>
Not being in touch with mainstream values.....	15	
Having no plan for economic growth and recovery...	24	
Being weak on national defense.....	13	
Being too tied to special interest groups.....	30	
All equally (VOL).....	9	
None of these (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	6	

36. Now, let me read you some specific issues. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	Democratic Party	Republican Party	Both	Neither	Not Sure	
Dealing with the economy						[109]
October 1991*.....	27	28	26	14	5	
October 1990.....	31	30	21	13	5	
November 1989.....	26	40	18	10	6	[110]
Helping the elderly						
October 1991*.....	55	16	15	9	5	
October 1990.....	51	12	21	11	5	
November 1989.....	51	12	21	9	7	[111]
Dealing with the issue of abortion						
October 1991*.....	36	22	14	15	13	
October 1990.....	32	19	16	16	17	
November 1989.....	29	21	16	16	18	[112]
Looking out for the wealthy						
October 1991*.....	11	64	14	5	6	
October 1990.....	13	64	13	6	4	[113]
Dealing with crime						
October 1991*.....	21	26	27	17	9	[114]
Reducing the federal deficit						
October 1991*.....	24	29	16	24	7	
October 1990.....	25	27	19	23	6	
November 1989.....	21	28	17	26	8	[115]
Protecting the environment						
October 1991*.....	39	16	24	12	9	
October 1990.....	38	15	27	13	7	
November 1989.....	36	15	25	14	10	[116]
Protecting America's interests on trade issues						
October 1991*.....	22	36	21	10	11	
October 1990.....	22	35	24	9	10	
November 1989.....	20	36	23	9	12	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

Q.36. (cont'd)	Democratic Party	Republican Party	Both	Neither	Not Sure	
Looking out for the middle class						[117]
October 1991*.....	47	19	11	16	7	
October 1990.....	47	18	16	14	5	

November 1989.....	21	16	12	7	
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Strengthening our educational system					
October 1991*.....	28	14	33	18	7
October 1990.....	33	15	30	14	8
November 1989.....	30	15	32	15	8
					[119]
Dealing with taxes					
October 1991*.....	26	31	18	18	7
October 1990.....	38	25	17	14	6
November 1989.....	29	36	16	12	7
					[120]
Dealing with the problem of health care					
October 1991*.....	46	12	18	16	8
					[121]
Reducing unemployment					
October 1991*.....	38	20	18	17	7
October 1990.....	40	24	18	11	7
November 1989.....	36	27	19	9	9
					[122]
Looking out for people like you					
October 1991*.....	33	24	16	19	8
					[123]
Reducing the drug problem					
October 1991*.....	16	22	26	27	9
October 1990.....	20	18	30	24	8
November 1989.....	15	21	31	24	9
					[124]
Looking out for the poor					
October 1991*.....	54	9	15	16	6
October 1990.....	60	10	15	11	4
					[125]
Dealing with the issue of sexual harassment					
October 1991*.....	25	13	25	24	13
					[126]
Keeping world peace					
October 1991*.....	13	44	30	7	6
October 1990.....	22	25	36	11	6
November 1989.....	17	31	38	7	7

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

(FORM B ONLY)

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37. I'd like to read you a few qualities that a president might have, and I want you to tell me how closely you think each one describes George Bush, using a scale from 1 to 5. On this scale, a rating of "5" means a quality describes him very well and a rating of "1" means it does not describe him well at all. You may use any number between 1 and 5, depending on how strongly you feel.

(MAKE SURE RESPONDENT UNDERSTANDS SCALE. READ EACH ITEM AND RECORD SCORE. IF RESPONDENT CANNOT RATE A QUALITY, RECORD A "6.")

	De (5)	(4)	(3)	Doe (2)	(1)	Can't Rate	
Effective, knows how to get things done							[127]
October 1991*.....	21	31	32	7	7	2	
October 1990.....	16	29	31	14	9	1	
November 1989.....	14	28	35	13	8	2	
Honest, a person you can trust							[128]
October 1991*.....	25	28	25	11	9	2	
October 1990.....	24	28	24	11	12	1	
November 1989.....	33	30	17	9	9	2	
Too tight-fisted in funding health and education programs							[129]
October 1991*.....	15	18	33	17	14	3	
October 1990.....	13	18	34	18	14	3	
November 1989.....	13	18	35	17	12	5	
A strong leader, has the courage of his convictions							[130]
October 1991*.....	43	24	17	8	6	2	
October 1990.....	30	29	19	11	10	1	
November 1989.....	24	29	22	12	11	2	
Does not spend enough time on domestic issues							[131]
October 1991*.....	21	16	27	16	17	3	
Is moderate, avoids extreme positions							[132]
October 1991*.....	14	22	34	15	11	4	
October 1990.....	17	24	34	14	9	2	
November 1989.....	25	24	27	13	7	4	
Too cautious, slow to act							[133]
October 1991*.....	11	20	24	22	21	2	
October 1990.....	11	15	29	23	20	2	
January 1990.....	12	17	34	18	15	4	
November 1989.....	18	20	28	17	14	3	
Cares about and fights for the average person							[134]
October 1991*.....	11	16	29	19	23	2	
October 1990.....	12	18	30	19	20	1	
November 1989.....	15	23	28	14	17	3	
Willing to take unpopular stands							[135]
October 1991*.....	23	25	25	11	14	2	
Down-to-earth, relates well to people							[136]
October 1991*.....	28	27	24	9	11	1	
October 1990.....	26	26	23	13	11	1	
November 1989.....	34	27	19	10	8	2	
Has policies that favor the wealthy							[137]
October 1991*.....	34	21	22	12	8	3	
October 1990.....	35	24	19	11	9	2	

*Asked of one-half the respondents.

(ASK EVERYONE.)

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1988 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote for George Bush, the Republican, or Michael Dukakis, the Democrat?

Didn't vote.....	9	[138]
Voted for George Bush.....	56	
Voted for Michael Dukakis.....	28	
Other candidate (VOL).....	2	
Too young (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	4	

F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal.....	6	[139]
Somewhat liberal.....	18	
Moderate.....	26	
Somewhat conservative.....	28	
Very conservative.....	8	
No thoughts.....	13	
Not sure.....	1	

F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? (DO NOT READ CHOICES.)

Grade school.....	2	[140]
Some high school.....	7	
High school graduate.....	32	
Some college, no degree.....	18	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	10	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	17	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	8	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	7	[141]
25-29.....	10	
30-34.....	13	
35-39.....	11	
40-44.....	12	
45-49.....	8	
50-54.....	8	
55-59.....	6	
60-64.....	7	
65 and over.....	17	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F5. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

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JOB DESCRIPTION:

-----OFFICE USE

24 [142]

Professional/manager.....
White collar worker.....
Blue collar worker.....
Farmer.....
Student.....
Homemaker.....
Retired.....
Unemployed.....
Never worked/not sure.....

22
22
1
3
8
17
2
1

F6. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member..... 12 [143]
Labor union household..... 7
Non-union household..... 80
Not sure..... 1

F7. What is your marital status--are you single and never married, married, separated, divorced, or widowed?

Single..... 19 [144]
Married..... 62
Separated..... 2
Divorced..... 8
Widowed..... 9
Not sure/refused..... -

F8. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant..... 50 [145]
Catholic..... 27
Jewish..... 2
Other..... 17
None..... 3
Not sure/refused..... 1

F9. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White..... 80 [146]
Black..... 12
Hispanic..... 4
Asian..... 1
Other..... 2
Not sure/refused..... 1

F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000..... 8 [147]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000..... 15
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000..... 17
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000..... 17
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000..... 13
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000..... 15
More than \$75,000..... 10
Not sure/refused..... 5